



## Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact [support@jstor.org](mailto:support@jstor.org).

## SOUTHERN STATESMEN AND THEIR POLICY.

---

THE boast of the Democracy, in the recent canvass, of "a solid South," seemed to illustrate the madness of those whom the gods have determined to destroy, since it repelled the last cherished hope of a reviving loyalty, and presented for the judgment of the nation the views and aims of the Southern leaders.

Among the subjects connected with the outcome of the rebellion, to which slight justice has yet been done, from which political leaders on both sides have appeared to shrink, and which await the criticism of publicists and the judgment of history, are the degree of wisdom exhibited by the representatives of the North who planned and executed their scheme of reconstruction for the Southern States, with extended powers and slender guarantees; and next, the policy and methods resorted to by the champions of "the lost cause," to recover the control of their section and ultimately of the republic.

The Convention which framed the American Constitution was called by Jefferson "an assembly of demigods," and Mr. Gladstone has spoken of that Constitution as "the most wonderful work ever struck off at a given time by the brain or purpose of man." It remains to be seen whether other Jeffersons and Gladstones will apostrophize as superhuman the virtue, wisdom, and foresight that presided at Washington over the reconstruction of the South, and commend that work as a masterpiece of statesmanship, wonderful and godlike, to the admiration of the world.

Small reverence has thus far been expressed for it by the Republicans themselves, as their triumphant party gradually fell from the height of power to the valley of humiliation; as they watched those recently in rebellion against the Government, reconquering loyal States and resuming the control of the Senate and the House; and as in utter helplessness they saw fraud, intimidation, and vio-

lence spreading over the South—the murder-rate rising to a degree unknown to the rest of Christendom ; Southern citizens who stood by the Government ostracized and punished ; while with a bad faith, at which the world still marvels, the ballot of the freedman, for which the South claimed an increase of electors, was arrested by assassination.

The policy of conciliation and confidence on which the Government based its scheme of reconstruction was at the time pronounced by European statesmen sentimental and dangerous. It was the exaggerated counterpart of that feeble and fatal policy of conciliation and concession into which the nation had been so long deluded by the Slave-power under assurances of its devotion to the Union, until what was deemed a convenient period arrived for its dissolution.

However conciliatory and magnanimous our policy, there were things clearly demanded by the safety and honor of the nation. We might waive indemnity for the past, but we had no right to waive security for the future : security for the Union whites, security for the enfranchised blacks, security for republican government in each State, with public schools for all on a permanent basis, and a fair and equal administration of the law so far as depended on the national Government, in a manner calculated to impress the Southern mind and to encourage loyalty to the national Constitution.

If the reconstruction policy was to be one of conciliation, there was the more reason for its execution in a way to attract to the side of the Government the ablest and most influential of the Southern leaders. Alexander Hamilton said—and the statesmen of his day knew how to reduce maxims to practice—“ Our prevailing opinions are ambition and interest, and it will ever be the duty of a wise government to avail itself of those passions in order to make them subservient to the public good, for these ever induce us to action.”

General Longstreet, Mr. ex-Secretary McCrary, Colonel Mosby, and a few other prominent Southrons who can almost be counted on one's fingers, accepted the situation, repudiated what Washington, with prophetic vision, called “ the monster,” State sovereignty, and accepted in good faith the results of the war and the constitutional amendments.

But the Southern leaders of opinion—men like Mr. Alexander H. Stephens, General Wade Hampton (so recently a prince among the

great slaveholders), General Robert Toombs, Mr. Senator Hill, Senator Vance, Governor Colquitt, of Georgia, Mr. Call, of Florida, Mr. Garland, of Arkansas, and others of equal prominence, seem to have adhered with new energy to their olden views engendered by slavery : and, if they have admitted that the slave is free, they have resisted with their ancient pertinacity his advance to political equality : and they have claimed as proudly as before, the rights, privileges, and prejudices of an aristocratic class. They belong, so the "Charleston Mercury" assures us, to a master-race, and have looked upon Northern Puritans as the Cavaliers looked upon Saxon serfs. Their treatment of the freedmen is disclosed by the official proofs glanced at by Judge Tourgee ; and a Southern paper, the "Meriden Mercury," ventures to prophesy that "the negro in these States will be a slave again, or cease to be. His sole refuge from extinction will be in slavery to the white man." The faith seems to linger among this class of Southern gentlemen that the right to enslave the negro is the most sacred of all liberties.

The Southern leaders who visited the North during the canvass, and spoke at the assemblage presided over by Mr. Belmont, avoided the discussion of these questions, and but little of the Southern policy so frankly developed in the Southern Historical Society, and occasionally by their impulsive orators, could be learned from the speeches of their accomplished spokesmen, Messrs. Bayard, Carroll, Whyte, Hampton, Richardson, Mackay, Waddell, Williams, Hill, and Garland. Mr. Bayard was inclined to treat as a party invention the idea of a solid South, apparently forgetting Democratic boasts like that of Mr. Blackburn, of Kentucky : "Let the radicals cease their brawl about a 'solid South.' She is solid, thank God ; she was solid for Jeff Davis in 1860, and we will be solid for Hancock in 1880." Mr. Carroll alluded to the one hundred and thirty-eight votes solid against the Republican party in a tone which seemed to intimate that they intended to claim these votes as valid, and that they really expected that the Republicans would recognize them as valid, despite the plain rule so clearly stated by General Hancock that "neither force nor fraud must be allowed to subvert the rights of the people," and that unless there is "a full vote, free ballot, and fair count," the foundation is taken away, and the whole structure of republican government falls.

There was no allusion to the well-known fact that, of the States counted in the solid South, South Carolina, Alabama, Louisiana, and Mississippi, with thirty-three votes, had an unquestionable Repub-

lican majority ; a fact which recalls the declaration of General Toombs, in the Georgia Convention, which framed the present Constitution of that State, as quoted by the author of the "Fate of Republics":\* "They [the freedmen] are to be governed as every race of paupers is governed by those who own the property and give them bread. . . . As his friends tried to govern him by force and fraud, we will control him by force and fraud to prevent his bringing us to ruin."

The efforts of the Southern leaders since the war to recover the control of the republic will supply an instructive chapter for our national history. Whatever may be thought of the judiciousness of their policy or the morality of their methods, those most at variance with them on these points can still admit that their devotion to "the lost cause" has been worthy of a higher and nobler end : and that they have exhibited a steadiness of resolution, a boldness of conception, and an audacity in execution which, if exemplified by sounder aims and purer methods, might well command approval and respect.

Perhaps their ablest leader since the war has been Mr. Alexander H. Stephens, of Georgia, who, in his eloquent protest against secession in 1860, said : ". . . I fear, if we rashly take that step, that instead of becoming gods we shall become demons, and at no distant day commence cutting one another's throats."

His next great effort, known at the South as the "corner-stone speech," was delivered on the 21st of March, 1861 ; and in February, 1866, Mr. Stephens made a third speech, of which extracts are given in an admirable address at Atlanta, April 2, 1879, of the Hon. J. E. Bryant. Mr. Stephens said : "Secession was tried. That has failed. Our only alternative now is either to give up all hope of constitutional liberty or retrace our steps, and to look for its vindication and maintenance in the forums of reason and justice, instead of on the arena of arms ; in the courts and halls of legislation instead of on the field of battle."

In support of this view, Mr. Stephens found encouraging example and hope in the history of the mother-country.

His idea that the cause lost on the battle-field should be prosecuted with faith and perseverance in politics was promptly accepted ; and in 1868 General Wade Hampton was reported as having said to the alumni of Washington College, Virginia, in allusion

\* Boston: Estes & Lauriat, 1880, p. 232.

to their "martyred dead," "The cause for which Jackson and Stuart fell can not be in vain, but will in some form revive."

In 1873 the Southern Historical Society was founded at Montgomery, by the representation of twelve States, not simply to secure materials for a history of the war, but to exert "a moral influence through the whole South; . . . to repel the insidious advances of those vicious principles which are now so fearfully undermining the civilization of the North." Mr. Jefferson Davis was present, and it is said was received "as President Davis, with all the honors due to the President of the United States."

In October, 1873, General Wade Hampton addressed the Southern Historical Society in the Senate-chamber at Richmond, and said: "Now, when that country is prostrate in the dust, weeping for her dead who have died in vain to save her liberties, every patriotic impulse should urge her surviving children to vindicate the great principles for which she fought."

In their behalf he drew an augury of their future success from an historic parallel, drawn from Continental Europe, in which the South was likened to Prussia and the North to France. When Napoleon, in the campaign of Jena, had struck down the whole military strength of Prussia, no hope was left but in the unconquered and unconquerable patriotism of her sons. But a few years passed before her troops turned the scale of victory at Waterloo, and the Treaty of Paris atoned in part for that of Tilsit. The orator next pictured Prussia as educating her children to be good citizens in time of peace and formidable soldiers in war, with the awakened spirit of the Fatherland for half a century, until she met her old antagonist, and the extorted contributions had been repaid, and shameful defeats wiped out by glorious victories.

A little later, on the 1st of July, 1875, General John S. Preston, of South Carolina, addressed the alumni of the University of Virginia on their fiftieth year, and he referred to the difference between "the turbulent fanatic of Plymouth Rock and the God-fearing Christian of Jamestown" as lying at the basis of the present antagonism of the North and South, as forbidding for ever the bonds of brotherhood, and as verifying anew the irreversible maxim of the Greek philosopher: "You may combine for the pursuit of trade, or form alliances for defense, but Corinth and Megara can never be one state; they are two peoples."

With reference to the war, General Preston said: "Let your historian . . . say, 'We were not subdued when Lee surrendered

his starvelings at Appomattox'' ; and, according to the reporter, "Southern enthusiasm was aroused to the highest altitudes, and General Preston's appeal to Southern patriotism fell on susceptible minds and touched the hearts of those who were familiar with the memories of the past."

Governor Colquitt, of Georgia, in the dedication of a monument to the Confederate heroes, spoke of "*those liberties which even now their surviving comrades do in our country's capitol maintain inviolate.*"

To learn what are these principles and liberties, for which their heroes died, and which the Southern wing of the Democracy are preserving inviolate at Washington, we may read backward the annals of the South, and find them developed in its policy, until we come to their expression by the great leader and oracle of the South, Mr. Calhoun, soon after he had left the halls of Yale for those of Congress.

Mr. Rhett said, in the secession convention of South Carolina in 1860, that it was not the event of a day, but had been gathering head for thirty years, and he added, "Have the labors of Calhoun been forgotten, when he declared a few years ago for the secession of South Carolina, and that secession would be the consummation of their liberties?"

The allusion of Mr. Rhett carries the Southern policy of Mr. Calhoun to 1832 ; but the late Commodore Charles Stewart recorded a conversation which he had with Mr. Calhoun in 1812, when the latter thus defined what he called the sectional policy of the South. He said to Captain Stewart : "I admit your conclusions in respect to us Southerners. That we are essentially aristocratic I can not deny, but we can and do yield much to Democracy. This is our sectional policy ; we are from necessity thrown upon and solemnly wedded to that party (however it may occasionally clash with our feelings) for the conservation of our interests. It is through our affiliation with that party in the Middle and Western States that we hold power ; but when we cease thus to control this nation through a disjointed Democracy, or any material obstacle in that party which shall tend to throw us out of that rule and control, we shall then resort to the dissolution of the Union."

It would be difficult to improve upon the clearness and simplicity of this brief statement in which Mr. Calhoun, nearly seventy years ago, developed the policy of the party which, a half century later, organized secession and warred upon the Government : and which,

after a conquest that was deemed complete, again presented itself as the "solid South," with a Congressional and electoral representation nearly twice as large as that of any equal voting population in the old free States. Here we may learn something of the eternal principles and liberties for which their departed heroes fought, and which their surviving heroes maintain at Washington and teach to their children. Mr. Calhoun's exposition of their sectional policy is also interesting as accurately describing the rôle allotted to the Northern Democracy, as the party through which they proposed to govern the republic, however much such an alliance might clash with their feelings. In after-years they sometimes called their useful but displeasing allies their "white slaves" and Northern "doughfaces"; and the submissiveness with which the Northern Democracy performed their part, despite the sneers of Southern statesmen like Randolph of Roanoke, and Stanley, of North Carolina, may have been regarded by the slaveholders as justifying their moderate estimate of Northern patriotism, manliness, and pride.

The task imposed by them on the Northern Democracy was the more irksome, from the fact that the South wished to control the Union in the interest of the Southern section, the narrow scope of whose peculiar interests was opposed to the wider and more varied industries of the free States. The provision, for instance, in the Confederate Constitution that no duties or taxes on importations from foreign nations "be laid to promote or foster any branch of industry," indicated a sectional policy on the part of the planter-class at variance with the broader policy of judiciously cherishing the great industries of the nation. Despite regrettable defects in the present tariff, demanding prompt and wise revision—especially where they may interfere with the restoration of our carrying-trade, which it is little to our credit has never been reëstablished since the Southern Alabamas swept it from the seas—despite all defects in our system for encouraging American genius, and protecting from competition American industries, it has developed, as even its English opponents are compelled to admit, in an unparalleled degree the wealth, prosperity, and independence of the republic. The country has not now to learn the injurious effect upon the manufacturing States of a sudden and ill-judged reduction in the tariff, as in 1846; and Mr. Clay once said that one object of the abandonment of the protective policy was the conciliation of the nullifiers.

Although manufactures have since made some progress at the



South, a Mississippi journal, "The States," in recently announcing its platform as "State rights, including secession as an incident, and the repeal of the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments," added—and the phrase has a world of significance in the memories which it recalls—"the restoration of the planters' republic of our fathers."

But wider far than the planter interest of the South and the gigantic industries of the republic is the difference between the ideas and principles and habits begotten by slavery and those which are the hardy growth of freedom ; and a careful study of the Calhoun policy as exhibited from the Missouri Compromise to the late election, noting the aims and methods of the Southern leaders and the action of the Northern Democracy, will throw light upon the great problem which thus far Republican Administrations have failed to solve, but of which the country expects a satisfactory and permanent solution from President Garfield.

Regarding the reconstruction scheme with negro suffrage as an offense to their pride, and at the same time as a masterpiece of Republican blundering which they could easily turn to their advantage, the Southern leaders have looked upon the apparent acquiescence of the Government and the country in their defiance of the constitutional amendments, and in their treatment of Union citizens and freedmen voters whom the nation, remembering that *noblesse oblige*, could not honorably abandon to their fate, as presenting a picture of national humiliation before the world, exceeding in degree each tame surrender by the North in our history before the war, of its ancestral principles and traditions, and of its constitutional rights of freedom of speech, freedom of the press, and the right of petition.

In their recent temper, while deluded, as often before, by their Northern allies into hopes of victory that were doomed to disappointment, even kindly acts of social courtesy on the part of the North they looked upon as signs of weakness, to be met with silent contempt or open defiance.

When, on General Grant's arrival at Chicago in November last, it was deemed fitting to send friendly messages to the prominent men of the South, Mr. Wade Hampton declined to answer, and Mr. Toombs wrote: "I decline to answer, except to present my personal congratulations to General Grant on his safe arrival in the country. He fought for his country honorably, and won ; I fought for mine, and lost. DEATH TO THE UNION ! Robert Toombs."

A great Southerner of the last century, William Pinkney, of

Maryland, in a famous speech before the House of Delegates in 1789, speaking of the dangerous consequences of the system of bondage, said: "To me, sir, nothing for which I have not the evidence of my senses is more clear than that it will one day destroy that reverence for liberty which is the vital principle of a republic. While a majority of your citizens are accustomed to rule with the authority of despots within particular limits, while your youth are reared in the habit of thinking that the great rights of human nature are not so sacred but that they may with innocence be trampled on, can it be expected that the public mind should glow with that generous ardor in the cause of freedom which can alone save a government like ours from the lurking demon of usurpation?"

Ninety-one years have passed, with their successive generations, since the far-sighted Marylander spoke these words of truth and soberness; and, with nearly a century of blunders behind us, the new Administration should, without further illusion or mistake, backed as it will be by a powerful constituency and an overwhelming public opinion, disable, if they can not utterly destroy, the "monster," State sovereignty, and fulfill the sacred duty imposed by the Constitution, to "guarantee to every State in the Union a republican form of government," with the equal enjoyment by all of the rights secured by the constitutional amendments.

The election of Republican Congressmen from Tennessee, Missouri, Virginia, North Carolina, Louisiana, West Virginia, and Kentucky, will give loyal Southrons fitting spokesmen at Washington. Under a wise, firm, and just Administration, free alike from sentimentality and corruption, a Union party should soon arise in each State, embracing many of the dominant faction who are tired of a lead marked by immoral methods which has led only to defeat, and who in defiance of threat and proscription await only national protection for a new departure in the direction of free speech and fair counts, of education, credit, and success. The *Augusta* (Georgia) "Chronicle" says not too reverently of the South in the Presidential election, "She has for the last time been led as a lamb to the slaughter." The abandonment by the Democracy of its distinctive principles, even to free trade, has induced the Memphis "Appeal" to remark that "the solid South stands almost alone for the Democratic principles."

The resort to calumny, which culminated toward the close in forgery, and the attempt to gag the press, and especially the "Herald," in its criticism on the introduction into our city politics of

ecclesiastical dictation, induced the "Evening Post" to say that "the miscreants have descended to the lowest depths of infamy."

It is clear that the Democracy do not take kindly to the priestly domination of which Mr. Kelly has shown himself the fearless and energetic administrator. It may perhaps be natural to those educated in Roman Catholic schools, and whom even Dr. Orestes A. Brownson, the great champion of the Papacy, describes as "misplaced and mistimed in this world as if born and educated for a world that has ceased to exist," to believe that in our republic all rightful power comes not from the people of America but from the Pope of Rome; that the state has no rights excepting as the Pope may approve; and that the Pope alone has the right to educate our children and to teach them that their first allegiance is to himself. But Americans born, educated in American schools, including thousands of liberal Roman Catholics, reject such doctrines as untrue and un-American, and cling the more closely to our common-school system with its broad elements of intellectual power, its habits of inquiry and free thought, and its unsectarian Christian morals, as the great safeguard of the people against ignorance, superstition, and that foreign influence of which Washington entreated them to beware. Rome contemplates its elevating and enlightening power, and feels that our public schools must be abolished or manipulated before she can here exercise her supremacy, which, as defined by the "Catholic World" (July, 1870), includes not only education, but "the censorship of ideas, and the right to examine and approve or disapprove all books, publications, writings, and utterances intended for public instruction, enlightenment, or entertainment, and the supervision of places of amusement."

If our boys are educated in our public schools as American citizens, how can they believe, as the "Catholic World" teaches, that "as citizens, electors, and public officers, we should always and under all circumstances act simply as Catholics"? How could the Roman priests, who, as Governor Lucius Robinson intimated, stimulated the Roman Catholic voters by whom last year the New York Democracy was divided and the Governor defeated, expect to guide the whole Democratic party, and secure for the Sovereign Pontiff the political control of the republic in the manner described by the "Catholic World," when it says, "The means placed at their disposal for securing this rich possession are not the sword or wars of extermination waged against the enemies of their religion, but in-

stead the mild and peaceful influence of the ballot, directed by instructed Catholic conscience and enlightened Catholic intelligence"?

The uprising of the masses, Democratic and Republican, at this new intermeddling with our politics by the Jesuit order, which with olden skill and audacity is now assailing in turn the American state and our political and religious freedom, was such as to impress the country with the depth of the indignation which the movement had aroused, and which influential Democrats like ex-Mayor Wickham and Mr. Talcott were among the first to express; and the fact that the vote for Mr. Grace fell nearly forty thousand below the vote for General Hancock is one that indicates that a Democratic faction which consents to be led by Rome in its crusade against American institutions can no longer count on loyal Americans for support.

A significant remark by a prominent Southerner some weeks ago, that "Garfield would be elected, but that Hancock would be counted in," was recalled by vague suggestions of violence and civil war as the election approached, and which are now supplemented by threats that the Houses of Congress, both temporarily Democratic, will reject the vote of New York on some pretense of fraud, not yet discovered, and declare Hancock duly elected.

In the present temper of the country, both at the North and the South, in regard to the immorality of the Democratic canvass, it is not clear what the Democracy of either section would expect to gain by attempting to interrupt the prosperity of both sections by inaugurating war upon such an issue. Nor is it easy to see, despite occasional intimations of its coming, how such an interruption at this time would benefit the clerical friends of Mr. Kelly. The "*Catholic Herald*" of May 24, 1879, is quoted as saying: "It is our belief that a most dreadful combat, a most awful conflict between the powers of good and evil, is in the near future, and that the fate of the republic depends upon the result." General Grant, on the other hand, predicts that, if we are to have another contest in the near future, "the dividing line will not be Mason and Dixon's, but it will be between patriotism and intelligence on one side and superstition, ambition, and ignorance on the other."

Whatever may await us, all true Americans, whatever their party, creed, or section, will assist to maintain the national peace, honor, and prosperity. To all Republicans of intelligence and culture it belongs to let the incoming Administration of Mr. Garfield feel that in maintaining the republic in its dignity and strength,

keeping free from suspicion its civil service, and doing that exact and equal justice which will tend to restore our national harmony, and encourage the rise of Southern statesmen with a national policy, the President and his officers can depend upon a constant, earnest, and watchful support by the virtue, intelligence and culture of the republic.

JOHN JAY.